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# THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE ARAMAICIZED PRAYER TO HORUS AND OF PSALM 20\*

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Papyrus Amherst 63 contains a series of texts in Demotic script but in the Aramaic language. Recently, two teams of scholars have published a section of the papyrus containing a prayer to the god Horus bearing a remarkable similarity to Hebrew Psalm 20, and they and others have suggested how these two compositions are related. Although this section represents only a small part of the papyrus, it is of prime importance for understanding the religious and mythopoeic background of the group that produced the papyrus. This study offers a new translation and analysis of the prayer and suggests that the prayer was originally written in Hebrew and subsequently Aramaicized superficially. It also proposes a new reconstruction of its literary history that clarifies the prayer's relationship to the Israelite liturgical composition and casts additional light on the background of the group that produced the papyrus.

THE PRAYER TO HORUS comprises but eight lines in one column of a 23 column papyrus containing Aramaic texts written in Demotic characters. The papyrus, Papyrus Amherst 63, in the possession of the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, was first discussed extensively in 1944 by R. A. Bowman, who recognized the language of the text as Aramaic and its contents as literary. He published a discussion of the problems of decipherment, a brief description of the Aramaic, and some scattered lines in transcription and translation.<sup>1</sup> Almost 40 years later, two teams of two scholars each, one Dutch<sup>2</sup> and the other American,<sup>3</sup> returned to the papyrus. Both teams selected the same section for their initial publication, col. XI, lines 11–19 (according to the American system of number-

ing; col. XII according to the Dutch), and both recognized the linguistic connections between these lines and Psalm 20. In a second article, the American team reacted to some suggestions by the Dutch scholars, expanded the literary connections to include Ps 46:10–12, supplied new information about a toponym, *ṛš*, mentioned in this as well as in other sections of the papyrus and proposed corrections to the transcription of the Demotic in their first publication.<sup>4</sup>

Reportedly the papyrus contains a collection of cultic, pagan texts of various genres whose relationship to each other is not clear: col. VI: 1–18, is a religious poem; col. VII, a series of blessings and a prescription for sacrifices;<sup>5</sup> columns XII–XIII, a number of hymns in some Canaanite dialect; and columns XVII–XXII, a composition about the revolt of Šamaš-šumukin of Babylon against his brother, Assurbanipal of Assyria, in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. A. Bowman, "An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 3 (1944): 219–31.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, "An Aramaic Hymn from the Fourth Century B.C.," *BO* 39 (1982): 501–9.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 261–74, cited hereafter as Nims.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, "You Can't Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat it Too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 43 (1984): 89–114, cited hereafter as Steiner. Cf. the Appendix, pp. 113–14.

<sup>5</sup> Steiner, 111–13, takes columns VI–VII as a liturgical text.

<sup>6</sup> Vleeming and Wesselius, 501; Nims, 262. The text is published in R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-Shum-Ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script, Part I," *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985): 60–81. This will be cited as Steiner and Nims (1985). A translation of this text is available in S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63*, vol. I (Amsterdam: Juda Palache Instituut, 1985), 31–37. This

Mention of this battle clarifies why there are many reported references to  $\text{r}\dot{\text{s}}$  in this papyrus.  $\text{r}\dot{\text{s}}$  is to be identified with Arash, a territory near the Elamite-Babylonian border captured and destroyed by Assurbanipal, whose inhabitants were probably exiled along with the Elamites who participated in the revolt. As a result, some former citizens of Arash were settled in Samaria and some in Egypt.<sup>7</sup> The relevance of these events to the Prayer of Horus will be discussed below.

The date of the papyrus has not yet been settled. Bowman argued for a 4th-century B.C.E. date.<sup>8</sup> Vleeming and Wesseliuss concur with this dating on the basis of the Demotic.<sup>9</sup> Nims and Steiner, however, claim that a peculiarity of the Demotic supports a late 2nd-century B.C.E. date.<sup>10</sup> If indeed the extant papyrus was written in the second century B.C.E., the fact that the Demotic preserves an archaic consonantal phonology distinguishing between  $\text{h}$  and  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{c}$  and  $\text{g}$ , as well as considerations that we will present below, suggest that the extant text is a stemmatic descendant of a lost original.<sup>11</sup> Although the date of Papyrus Amherst 63 itself has no bearing on the date of its contents other than supplying a *terminus post quem*

for their composition, it does bear on how the canon of texts will be interpreted as a collection.

Nims and Steiner suggest that the Prayer to Horus is "... a pagan adaption of (a prayer based) on Ps 20." They cite onomastic and linguistic evidence in support of their position: 1) mention of YH and Adonay as divine names and 2) the presence of non-Aramaic words.<sup>12</sup> Vleeming and Wesseliuss consider the Prayer to Horus and Ps 20 to be different adaptations of a lost Canaanite hymn. They base their view on the differences between the two compositions in matters of 1) names,  $\text{spn}$  in the prayer versus  $\text{sywn}$  in the psalm, and  $\text{qr}\dot{\text{r}}\dot{\text{s}}$  in the prayer versus  $\text{qd}\dot{\text{s}}$  in the psalm, 2) the use of the 1 pl. in the prayer but 2 m.s. in the psalm as the indicator of the faithful, 3) the use of repetitive parallelism in the Aramaic, and 4) the additional lines and images in the psalm.<sup>13</sup> K.A.D. Smelik argues that the Demotic text reflects an Old Aramaic prayer composed, perhaps, in the area of Damascus that was adopted and modified by Jerusalem scribes who 1) eliminated mentions of pagan deities, 2) gave the poem a Jerusalem setting, 3) added a cultic prophecy, 4) eliminated repetitive parallelism, and 5) replaced the mention of bow and spear with that of chariots and horses.<sup>14</sup> M. Weinfeld's concep-

work will be cited as Vleeming and Wesseliuss (1985). I thank Dr. S. A. Kaufman who brought this volume to my attention and the Widener Library of Harvard University for making it available to me.

<sup>7</sup> This is only one of the possibilities considered in Steiner, 106–7, and the addendum to p. 106 on p. 114, but it is the most convincing. Cf. B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 28 (cited already in Steiner, n. 76). Nims and Steiner point out that the destruction of Arash is mentioned by Assurbanipal and cite M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 1, pp. CCCXXXIV, CCCXXXVII, CCCXLIII, which is unavailable to me (Steiner, 114 *ad* p. 106).

The various foreign elements would appear to have been settled in the area of Samaria proper and in a range of cities extending down through the former tribal territories of Ephraim and Benjamin (2 Ki 17:24, and cf. Ezr 4:1), where their descendants are called "the enemies of Judah and Benjamin." These would have come from Babylon, the borderlands of Elam, and perhaps even farther east, because Susa, destroyed by Assurbanipal in 646 B.C.E., is mentioned in Ezr 4:9b (cf. H. Tadmor, "The Days of the Return to Zion," in *The History of Eretz Israel*, vol. 2: *Israel and Judah in the Biblical Period*, ed. I. Ephal [Jerusalem: Keter, 1984], 281–82 [Hebrew]).

<sup>8</sup> Bowman, 219, 221–23, 230.

<sup>9</sup> Vleeming and Wesseliuss, 501.

<sup>10</sup> Nims, 261.

<sup>11</sup> Steiner and Nims (1985), 67–68.

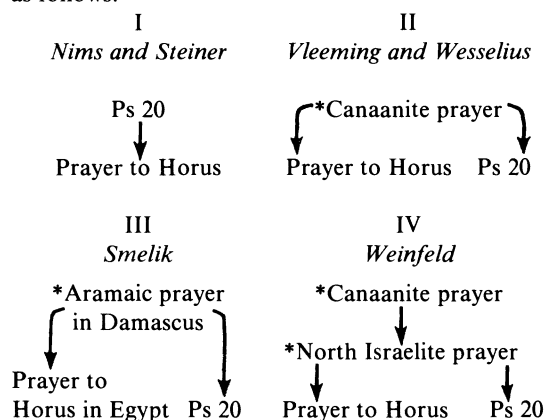
<sup>12</sup> Nims, 269–70. Although  $\text{YH}^{\text{e}}$  is now read  $\text{yhw}$ , they maintain that it still is a divine name (Steiner, 90n. 6; 113). This is discussed below in greater detail.

<sup>13</sup> Vleeming and Wesseliuss, 509. For a more extended discussion of the parallelism, cf. St. Segert, "Preliminary Notes on the Structure of the Aramaic Poems in the Papyrus Amherst 63," *UF* 18 (1986): 272–76, 289–97.

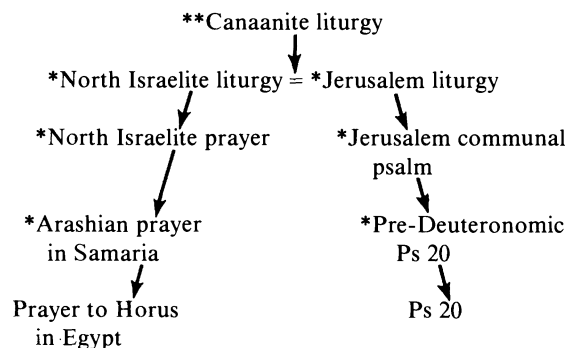
<sup>14</sup> K. A. D. Smelik, "The Origin of Psalm 20," *JSOT* 20 (1985): 77. Smelik worked with the readings of Vleeming and Wesseliuss before these were published. A detailed philological treatment of his translation is found in "Een Aramese Parallel voor Psalm 20," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 37 (1983): 89–103.

An "Aramaic Hypothesis" is adopted likewise by O. Loretz with significant implications for the reconstruction of the psalm and the history of its text. See O. Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen: Die altorientalisch-kanaanäische Königstradition in jüdischer Sicht*, Teil 1: *Ps 20, 21, 72, 101 und 144, mit einem Beitrag von I. Kottsieper zu Papyrus Amherst* (Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1988), 24, 27, 41, 49–50. Cf. also, I Kottsieper, "Papyrus Amherst 63: Einführung, Text, und Übersetzung von 12, 11–19," the third chapter of the same volume, 72–73. This book reached me after this study had been revised for publication. Points that it raises relevant to our discussion are mentioned in footnotes. I thank Dr. S. A. Kaufman, who brought it to my attention and made a copy available to me.

tion of the relationship between the two compositions is a complicated elaboration of the schema suggested by Vleeming and Wesselijs. Basing himself primarily on the divine names and the use of *šywn* in Ps 20:3, Weinfeld claims that the use of *šywn*, as well as other added passages, represents a final Jerusalem version of an earlier text; the god names *Ḥor* and *Mar* in the Aramaic version reflect the final Egyptian version of an earlier text; and the name *El Beth-El* points to a north Israelite redaction of this earlier text; while the names *Baal Shamayn* and *Šaphon* indicate its Canaanite (or north Israelite [—this point is not clear]) origin.<sup>15</sup> These four approaches may be diagrammed as follows:



The object of this study is to present a different explanation of the relationship between the two compositions on the basis of a new translation and analysis of the Aramaic text as well as a new reconstruction of its prehistory. The explanation to be presented and defended in the following pages may be diagrammed as follows:



<sup>15</sup> M. Weinfeld, "The Pagan version of Psalm 20:2-6: Vicissitudes of a Psalmic Creation in Israel and its Neighbors" [Hebrew], *ET* 18 (1985): 131, 133, 137-38, and \*70.

Our analysis of this text differs from earlier treatments in a number of ways that will become obvious in the following discussion. One point must be clarified at the outset, however, since it is essential to our comprehension of the text and is reflected in the following semiticization and translation: the use and function of the Demotic determinatives. The *man-with-hand-to-his-mouth*, indicated by a superscript <sup>m</sup>, is the normal word divider, dividing words from each other on the line, but also occurs in the middle of words at the end of a line when words run over into the following line. Although words so marked often correspond to what we consider lexical units, in many cases what is marked as a "word" in this text sometimes corresponds to a stress unit of recitation that may be compared to words in Hebrew joined by a *maqṣef*,<sup>16</sup> e.g., lines (12) and (13) in the transliteration below.<sup>17</sup> It is not used at the end of line (16) where it is clearly necessary. The *god* determinative, indicated by superscript <sup>g</sup>, based on the hieroglyph of the falcon-god Horus, marks what was perceived by the scribe as divine names. Only one deviation from this practice, the exception that proves the rule,

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Wrocław: Akademia Nauk, 1972), 166ff.; Z. Zevit, "Nondistinctive Stress, Syllabic Constraints, and Wortmetrik in Ugaritic Poetry," *UF* 15 (1983): 296-98. This was noted in Nims (p. 266) in comments to *mn-ʿgr* and *y.m.t.n*. Its importance to the prosody of this text and its implications for the study of Hebrew prosody remain to be explored.

<sup>17</sup> This explains why some initial *alephs* are often elided after prepositions and conjunctions. In our text, it is particularly noticeable in the vocable <sup>ʿ</sup>l. According to Nims (p. 268) *ad* line (18) and Steiner (p. 92), the first *r* of *m.ḥrr.*, overscored in Nims, 264 (and referred to more conveniently, in our opinion, as *r*<sub>2</sub> in the system of Vleeming and Wesselijs [1985], 59), is a Demotic sign that usually occurs in final position and can be taken as having its own internal determinative. Cf. <sup>ʿ</sup>r at the end of line (16). Accordingly, no word determinative is missing at the end of this word. Since the following *r* is the equivalent of a Semitic *l*, and not a phonetic complement, this is quite possible. If, however, this is so, then the elision of the glottal stop here is difficult to explain since the words do not run together as a stress unit. However, since Demotic overscored *r* or *r*<sub>2</sub> is attested in line (11) *mšryn* in the middle of a word, in line (13) *shr*, at the end of a word followed by an *aleph* and a word dividing determinative, and in line (17) <sup>ʿ</sup>rn = <sup>ʿ</sup>ln in the middle of a word, it is questionable whether or not it was used or intended to be perceived as a word determinative under all circumstances. (cf. Vleeming and Wesselijs [1985], 58).

occurs in this section of the papyrus in line (15); it will be discussed below where we will demonstrate that the rule's integrity prevails. The *seated woman* determinative, marked in the transliteration by superscript <sup>w</sup>,

normally used to indicate a respected personage, is used in the published section of the papyrus to mark a toponym, as in line (13) but not in line (16). Further uses of this last determinative remain to be classified.

#### Transliteration of the Demotic Text<sup>18</sup>

1. (11)y.<sup>c</sup>n.n.<sup>m</sup> Ḥr<sup>g</sup> b.m.tswryn.<sup>m</sup>
2. (12)y.<sup>c</sup>n.n.<sup>m</sup> e.t.ny<sup>m</sup> bmtswryn<sup>m</sup>
3. h.y.kš.t<sup>m</sup> bšmyn<sup>g</sup> (13) s.hr.<sup>m</sup>
4. s.r.ḥ.<sup>m</sup> tsy.r.k<sup>m</sup> mn<sup>n</sup>k.r<sup>m</sup> e.r.š.<sup>w</sup>
5. w.mntsp.n.<sup>m</sup> (14) Ḥr<sup>g</sup> y.s.<sup>c</sup>t.n.<sup>m</sup>
6. y.m.t.ne.r.n.<sup>m</sup> Ḥr<sup>g</sup> k.br.b.n.<sup>m</sup>
7. y.mt.n.<sup>m</sup> (15) e.r.n.<sup>m</sup> mr<sup>m</sup> k.br.b.n.<sup>m</sup>
8. kr<sup>m</sup> y.<sup>c</sup>ts.t.<sup>m</sup> Ḥr<sup>m</sup> yh.m.ry<sup>m</sup> yh.mry<sup>m</sup> Ḥr<sup>g</sup>
9. ryḥ.<sup>m</sup>(16)s.r.<sup>m</sup> e.t.ny<sup>m</sup> kr<sup>m</sup> m.še.r.b.n.<sup>m</sup>
10. ṛrb.kst<sup>m</sup> ṛb.h.nt.<sup>m19</sup>
11. ṛr (17) e.nh.n.<sup>m</sup> mr<sup>m</sup> y.rh.n<sup>w</sup> Ḥr<sup>g</sup>
12. yhw<sup>20</sup> ṛr.n<sup>m</sup> cymn.n<sup>m21</sup>
13. y.<sup>c</sup>n.n.<sup>m</sup> (18) m.ḥrr. byt.r<sup>m</sup>
14. b<sup>c</sup>r<sup>g</sup> šmyn<sup>g</sup> mr<sup>m</sup> yb.r.k.<sup>m</sup>
15. r.ḥ.sy.t<sup>m</sup>(19)tyk.<sup>m</sup> b[.]r.k.t.k<sup>m</sup>
16. sp<sup>22</sup>

#### Semiticization of the Demotic Text<sup>23</sup>

1. y<sup>c</sup>nn. Ḥr.<sup>g</sup> bmswryn.
2. y<sup>c</sup>nn. ṛdny.<sup>24</sup> bmswryn.
3. hy qšt. bšmyn.<sup>g</sup> zhr.
4. šlḥ. šyrk. mn (ṛ)gr. ṛrš.
5. wmn špn. Ḥr.<sup>g</sup> ys<sup>c</sup>dn.
6. yntn ṛln. Ḥr.<sup>g</sup> kblbn.
7. yntn ṛln. mr. kblbn.
8. kl. y<sup>c</sup>št.<sup>25</sup> {Ḥr.<sup>26</sup> yhml<sup>ṛ</sup>.} yhml<sup>ṛ</sup>. Ḥr.<sup>g</sup>
9. l(ṛ) yḥsr.<sup>27</sup> ṛdny. kl. mš<sup>ṛ</sup>l (l)bn.
10. ṛl bqšt. ṛl bhnt.
11. ṛr ṛnhn. mr. ṛlhn.<sup>28</sup> Ḥr.<sup>g</sup>
12. yhw<sup>29</sup> ṛln. cymn.
13. y<sup>c</sup>nn. mḥr (ṛ)l byt (ṛ)l.
14. b<sup>c</sup>l.<sup>g</sup> šmyn.<sup>g</sup> mr. ybrk.
15. lḥsydyk.<sup>30</sup> brk<sup>t</sup>k.
16. sp

#### Translation

1. May Hor answer us in our straits.
2. May the master (ṛdny) answer us in our straits.
3. O Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens, shine forth.
4. Send your messenger from the temple of Arash.
5. And from Šafon may Hor sustain us.
6. May Hor grant to us as is in our heart
7. May the lord (mr) grant to us as is in our heart.
8. All counsels {hor will fulfill} may Hor fulfill.
9. May the master (ṛdny) not diminish any request of our heart.
10. Some by the bow, some by the spear
11. (But) behold (as for) us, the lord (mr) our god (ṛlhn) (is) Hor
12. May our numen (ṛln) be with us.
13. May the numen (ṛl) of Bethel answer us anon.
14. May Padrone-of-the-Heavens (b<sup>c</sup>l šmyn), the lord (mr) bless.
15. For your pious ones (are) your blessings.
16. End.



PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION<sup>31</sup>

l. 1. *Hr*, 'Horus'. The word is consistently represented in the Demotic as <sup>2</sup>*hr*, with an initial glottal stop, suggesting, perhaps, that its semiticization should represent this with an initial *aleph*. Vleeming and Wesselius, on the basis of their reconstruction of the background and religion of the community that produced the papyrus, reject this understanding of the Demotic on *a priori* grounds. Their reconstruction

<sup>18</sup> Regular numerals refer to our system of numbering the lines for the purpose of the following analyses; numerals in parentheses refer to the lines in the papyrus.

The transliteration presented below is based on Nims, 263–64, with the exception that *y* and *e* are rendered conventionally. Cf. Steiner, 91 and n. 14 and p. 108 *ad ymh* there. Our system of indicating or not indicating the *alephs* follows that of Bowman, 221, that was partially adopted in practice in the American publications whose objective is to make the underlying Semitic text transparent. Initial consonantal *alephs* are indicated by the conventional sign for the glottal stop <sup>2</sup>, but other *alephs*, which most likely indicate vowels, are indicated by a dot. We have refrained from switching between *r* and *l* in the transliteration and have used *r* consistently. Which Semitic consonant was intended will be clear from the semiticized version. Future studies of the phonology of this papyrus will, of course, have to employ a system of transliteration that contains more information than that provided in the systems of either the American or Dutch scholars. Cf. the discussions in Nims, 261–62, and in Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 13–16, 23–24, 39–42.

<sup>19</sup> The reading <sup>2</sup>*l bqšt* <sup>2</sup>*l b<sup>2</sup>h<sup>2</sup>nt* in Vleeming and Wesselius, 504, was accepted as correct in Steiner, 113.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Vleeming and Wesselius, 508; Steiner, 113. Nims originally read this *yh<sup>8</sup>* (p. 264). However, since the god determinative in Demotic also indicates *w*, this word could be *Yh<sup>8</sup>* or *yhw* where *w* could render either *u* or *w* (Steiner, 90 n. 6 and Steiner and Nims [1985], 65 n. 20). Whereas Steiner and Nims prefer to read this as *yahu* and maintain that it is a divine name, even without the determinative (p. 113), we do not. Judging from the use of *alephs* in the text, the divine name would have been written \**y.hw.8*. Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 59, claim that a damaged *dalet-1*, as enumerated in their system on p. 113, is to be found after the *w*. A close examination of their facsimile on p. 103 reveals that they have restored the characteristic dot under the putative letter and that the rest of the sign that they take for this "damaged" letter is an inelegantly written *waw-3* which is virtually indistinguishable from the god determinative according to their system on p. 113.

leads them to expect some form of the name of the God of Israel as represented in Jewish, Egyptian-Aramaic documents, *yaho*, spelled either *yhh* or *yhw* in the papyrus. Indeed, K. Th. Zauzich has proposed that the Demotic could be interpreted as *yhw* if the initial glottal stop were interpreted as indicating a *yodh*, the middle sign a *he* and the final sign a *waw*. Vleeming and Wesselius, however, demonstrate that the Demotic of the papyrus cannot support his suggestion.<sup>32</sup> They conclude that since the Demotic does

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Steiner, 113.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of whether or not this is a word or an abbreviation, see Vleeming and Wesselius, 504; Steiner, 91. Its function, however, as an end marker for compositional units of the papyrus is clear.

<sup>23</sup> Here we indicate word dividers by dots where the Demotic has a determinative, but reproduce the god determinative redundantly in order to facilitate the following discussion.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the second paragraph of n. 18 above. The Demotic *e* sign may indicate the color of the vowel following the *aleph* indicated in our transliteration by a dot. Thus, Vleeming and Wesselius transliterate <sup>2</sup>*d<sup>2</sup>ny* and what we, following Nims, have as *e.rš* in l. 4 they transliterate <sup>2</sup>*r<sup>2</sup>š* (p. 504).

<sup>25</sup> Nims and Steiner restore a suffix to this word, *y<sup>c</sup>st<n>*, that we consider unnecessary (cf. Nims, 263–67).

<sup>26</sup> This name has no god determinative.

<sup>27</sup> This word is split over two lines in the Demotic. Cf. Nims, 263, 267.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the second paragraph of n. 18 above as well as n. 24. The Demotic *y* sign may indicate the color of the vowel following the next *aleph*. Cf. Steiner, 108.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. n. 20 above.

<sup>30</sup> This word is split over two lines in the Demotic. Cf. Nims, 267.

<sup>31</sup> The notes in Vleeming and Wesselius, 506–9, Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 52–61; Nims, 265–69, and Steiner, 113–14, should be consulted for most general matters. Our notes address primarily but not exclusively those points where we differ with the conclusions of these scholars. The translation of Kottsieper in Loretz, *Königspsalmen*, differs from ours apparently owing in part to a different semiticization of the Demotic and to a different interpretation of the role of the god determinative (p. 58). Since his annotations to this translation are not yet published—they are scheduled to appear in *ZAW* 100—we will only refer to his translation sporadically and reserve a detailed discussion of it for a later study.

<sup>32</sup> K. Th. Zauzich, "Der Gott des aramäische-demotischen Papyrus Amherst 63," *Goettinger Miszellen* 85 (1985): 89–90, cited in Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 39–40. "The God

not represent the name that is to be expected, the orthography nevertheless must represent it, perhaps operating on some rebus principle.<sup>33</sup> Clearly, however, the straightforward reading is <sup>3</sup>hr̄.

Although it is conceivable that <sup>3</sup>hr̄ is not Hor(us)—perhaps it was read as an idiograph—given the Egyptian context of the papyrus, this reading appears to be the most probable given the present state of our knowledge. We have no explanation for the regularly written initial *aleph* sign.

1. 2. <sup>3</sup>dny, 'the master'. This word lacks the god determinative and should therefore be taken as an epithet having less potency than an actual divine name.<sup>34</sup> Translating this word 'the master' in other parts of the papyrus, in col. vi: 4, 10 (cf. Steiner, 98) clarifies the flow of the text there.

1. 3. *hy*. Here the word appears to be a vocative particle.<sup>35</sup>

*qšt bšmyn*, 'Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens', with the god determinative would appear to refer to either a Sagittarius-like constellation or to the rainbow. In Biblical Hebrew, the rainbow is *qšt b'nn*, the "bow in the clouds" (Gen 9:6, 13, 14; Ez 1:28).

More than just a weapon, the bow appears to have been a symbol of rule and authority (cf. Aqht—CTA 17:V:2–8; VI:16–25 and line 10 in the prayer itself).<sup>36</sup>

of Israel is . . . consistently indicated by means of an unknown name, probably some kind of replacement for his real name," Vleeming and Wesselius, "Betel the Saviour," *Ex Oriente Lux* 28 (1983–84): 112. This will be cited below as "Betel."

<sup>33</sup> Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 40–42, 44. Kottsieper renders this word consistently as "El," but then renders <sup>3</sup>l in line 13 as an asseverative particle, in Loretz, *Königspsalmen*, 74–75, cf. also 70–71.

<sup>34</sup> Nims, 265, 269.

<sup>35</sup> This particle in Hebrew is primarily associated with funeral laments and secondarily with speeches that evoke an aura of gloom. The contents of the Prayer to Horus preclude it having a negative valence that is projected forward to the following divine name because that would imply a lament over the deity and would render the rest of the prayer nonsense.

<sup>36</sup> When bows that shoot arrows are represented on cylinder seals, they are usually in the hands of gods and may therefore be taken as extrinsic symbols of such power (D. Collins, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals II* [London: British Museum, 1982], 33, and cf. the notes to seals 127, 128, 138, 141, 146,

Accordingly, *qaššāt*, "the Bowman of the Heavens" is to be understood as another potent name of the god of the heavens and the chief of the pantheon. Although its mythological background remains veiled, it most likely alludes to a martial figure (cf. Ps 68:1–3, 18, 22).

*zhr*, 'shine forth', cf. Dan 12:3. The word can be semiticized either as *shr*, *šhr*, or *zhr*. *šhr*, 'crescent moon', would appear to be appropriate because of the congruity between the image it would evoke and that of the bow: "O Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens, crescent moon."<sup>37</sup> However, we note that verbs are placed towards the beginning and ends of alternating lines in the prayer: cf. lines 7–8–9, 13–14, and 2–3–4–5; thus taking *shr/šhr/zhr* as a verb is more in keeping with the poetry of the text.<sup>38</sup>

The imagery in this line of the prayer may be compared with Deut 33:2: "YHWH came from Sinai, shined forth (*zrh*) from Seir. . . ."

For the use of the imperative, cf. col. xvii:3 of the papyrus where Padrone-of-the-Heavens is summoned, *b'1 šmyn slq/l(h) 'l-sky* 'come up, come to my bower'.<sup>39</sup>

1. 4. *šlh syrk*, 'send your (2 m.s.) messenger'. For the same idiom, cf. the late Biblical texts Isa 57:9, Jer 49:14, and for related idioms cf. Gen 24:7 and Ezek 23:40.

(<sup>3</sup>)*gr*, 'temple'. In Elephantine Aramaic, the word used for the Jewish temple is <sup>3</sup>gr < Akkadian *ekurru*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>3</sup>rš, 'Arash', a territory on the Babylonian-Elamite border.<sup>41</sup> In this particular passage the name could be taken as that of the temple; however, other passages in the papyrus favor the first explanation: col. x:8–9, *mwibn 'gry b'rš*, 'the seat of my temple is in Arash'; vii:2, *ybrkk mr mn 'rš*, 'May the lord bless you from Arash'.<sup>42</sup>

and 190). An additional, intrinsic dimension of this symbol may have been that of sexual potency and fertility, as pointed out by D. R. Hillers, "The Bow of Aqhat: The Meaning of a Mythological Theme," in *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (= AOAT 22), ed. H. A. Hoffner (Neukirchen Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1973), 73. I thank Dr. M. Smith of Yale University with whom I discussed this problem.

<sup>37</sup> Nims, 263.

<sup>38</sup> Kottsieper recognizes this root here but takes it as a noun "Glanz" in Loretz, *Königspsalmen*, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Steiner and Nims (1985), 69.

<sup>40</sup> Nims, 266.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. our discussion above and Steiner, 106–7.

<sup>42</sup> Cited in Steiner, 106.

Vleeming and Wesselius consistently render this name as “Rash,” ignoring the *aleph* marking the glottal stop before the *r*, and suggest that it refers to a place “Ba’li-Ra’si” on the coast of Phoenicia near Tyre mentioned in an inscription of Salmanassar III that may be either the modern Rosh Ha-niqra on the Israel-Lebanon border or the promontory of Mt. Carmel.<sup>43</sup>

The name is attested as a theophoric element in Phoenician and Carthaginian names: <sup>ʔ</sup>*rš* (KAI 34:1,2 from Kition 4th century B.C.E.; 49:39,40, from Abydos, 4th century B.C.E.; 62:4, from Malta, 4th–2nd centuries; 68:4); <sup>ʔ</sup>*bdʔrš* (KAI 81:7, from Carthage, 3rd–2nd century); <sup>ʔ</sup>*bʔrš* (KAI 100:2, from Dougga, 3rd–2nd century). In the feminine form <sup>ʔ</sup>*ršt*, it appears in a 6th-century B.C.E. papyrus from Saqqara (KAI 50:1). Whether it originally marked the name of a deity as well as a locale is moot—it does not in Papyrus Amherst 63—but by the Persian period it certainly did in North Africa, Cyprus, and in Egypt. The fact that some of the attested names are from Egypt supports the hypothesis about the wanderings of parts of the Arashian community.

l. 7. *mr*, ‘the lord’. This word, too, lacks the god determinative and therefore, like <sup>ʔ</sup>*dny*, can only be taken as a frozen epithet. Although there is no semantic distinction between Canaanite <sup>ʔ</sup>*dn* and Aramaic *mr*, attested in actual Aramaic as *mrʔ*, we translate them differently to indicate the different source words. Reportedly *mr* is the epithet of choice in most of the texts in the papyrus.

l. 8. *yʕšt*, ‘counsels’. The word could be either singular or plural, cf. *brkt* in l. 15. Derived from *yʕš* ‘to advise, suggest, counsel’, here it has a nuance of ‘request’

since it parallels *mšʔl lb*. Hebrew *ʕšā* has this same nuance in Ps 20:5, on which more below. Passages such as Isa 40:13; 44:26 and Ps 119:24, suggest that the word had some mantic associations. If these may be assumed also for the Prayer to Horus, then the speakers are most likely cultic prophets of some sort.

{*hr yhmlʔ*}, ‘*hr* will fulfill’. The same words are repeated in reverse order immediately following these, possibly by chiasmic dittography. We consider this form without the god determinative an error that was recognized and immediately rewritten correctly. No matter how the doublet arose, it creates a syntactic monstrosity and an overloaded line of poetry. An alternative reading suggested by Nims and Steiner, Demotic *ryh. sr.* = Aramaic <sup>ʔ</sup>*ly ʔhy šry*, ‘my god, my brother, my prince’, is possible, but leaves the following words, <sup>ʔ</sup>*dny* . . . (*lbn*), meaningless.<sup>44</sup>

l. 10. <sup>ʔ</sup>*l bqšt. ʔl bhnt*, ‘some by the bow, some by the spear’. The spear as a symbol of royal authority is attested in I Sam 18:10, 19:9; 22:6; 26:7; the bow and spear (along with the [war] wagon) as symbols of temporal power are attested in Ps 46:10.

l. 11. *mr.ʔlhn. Hrʕ*, ‘the lord our god is Hor’. This line is syntactically similar to another line in the papyrus, col. vi:2, *mr ʔlhy ʔb*, ‘the lord my god is good’.<sup>45</sup>

l. 12. *yhw*, ‘may (it) be’. This is a 3 m.s. jussive. The final grapheme marks a consonant.<sup>46</sup>

l. 13. *mhr*, ‘anon’. Literally, ‘tomorrow’; a diplomatic understanding, ‘soon’ or ‘at your earliest possible convenience given the circumstances’ is more suited to the context. Our choice of archaic ‘anon’ as the translation equivalent leaves both possibilities open.

(<sup>ʔ</sup>)*l*, ‘numen’. As with the other epithets, <sup>ʔ</sup>*dny*, *mr* and <sup>ʔ</sup>*lh* (l. 11), this is also written without the god determinative.

<sup>43</sup> Vleeming and Wesselius, 507; Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 45. They note that an additional syllable appears before the *r*, consisting of the glottal stop, <sup>ʔ</sup><sub>2</sub> in their system, followed by a vowel-indicating aleph, <sup>ʔ</sup><sub>1</sub> in their system, but ignore it since “the identification of the name is not placed in doubt by it” (pp. 54–55). We consider their arguments for a western location, a position also adopted by Nims and Steiner (see Steiner, 106–7), more relevant than their specific identification which we question on philological grounds. The initial glottal stop is elided under predictable conditions in stress units and after prepositions and should not be considered a problem. This is considered by neither of the American and Dutch teams. Cf. Steiner, 94–95 *ad* lines 11, 13 and p. 106, and Vleeming and Wesselius, “Betel,” 132. The problem of location will be discussed below.

<sup>44</sup> Nims, 264 notes 8, 11, and p. 267.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Steiner, 97.

<sup>46</sup> If however, it is read *Yhʕ* (see n. 20 above), the line could be rendered “Yh, our god, is with us.” Cf. M. Z. Kaddari, “The Existential Verb *hwh* in Imperial Aramaic,” in *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, ed. M. Sokoloff (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1983), 45. Kaddari (p. 46) notes that the polysemy of Aramaic *hwh* (sic!) corresponds to the various meanings of *hyh* in both Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew.



l. 14 *bʿl šmyn*, 'Padrone-of-the-Heavens'. Both components of this name are written with the god determinative. Since our translation attempts to use different target words for different source words, 'padrone' was selected for *bʿl* since *lord* and *master* were employed for other words in the text.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRAYER TO HORUS

The communal prayer to Horus is directed to a single deity who is addressed directly in lines 3, 4, and 16 and indirectly elsewhere. Hor is the Egyptian sky god Horus represented in the form of a falcon whose right eye was the sun and whose left the moon. He is also addressed as 'Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens' (l. 3) and 'Padrone-of-the-Heavens' (l. 14), both of which are marked with the god determinative. Epithets applied to him in the prayer are 'master', *ʔdny*, ll. 2, 9; 'the lord', *mr*, ll. 7, 11, 14; 'god', *ʔlh*, l. 11; and 'numen', *ʔl*, ll. 12, 13—all without the god determinative.

Lines 1–5 presuppose that Horus knows what straits the community is in and how to remedy the situation. They request that he note the distress of the petitioners by sending them a messenger, *šir*, l. 4, and by granting them relief, *sʿd*, l. 5.<sup>47</sup> The connection between Arash and Šafon implied by the parallelism of lines 4–5 suggests that the speakers had made some significant mythopoeic accommodations to their land of exile. Lines 6–9 pray that Horus grant them what they want, *kblbn*, ll. 6–7; that he fulfill all counsels, *kl yʿšt*, l. 8; and that he not deliver less than what they request, *ʔ yhsr*, l. 9. Lines 10–13 declare loyalty to Horus and pray that he be with the petitioners and

answer them quickly. The petitioners contrast their faith in divine relief with that of those who place their trust in temporal powers. Lines 14–15 request a blessing on the implied grounds that the petitioners, as his devotees, deserve it.<sup>48</sup>

#### LITERARY PREHISTORY OF THE PRAYER TO HORUS

Three factors indicate that the Aramaic prayer has a rather complicated literary pre-history. 1) Almost every line is paralleled by a line in Ps 20, and these parallels are not only verbal, but also sequential (see Table, across). 2) The name of the Egyptian deity to whom the prayer is addressed is Horus, but the various epithets and other divine names applied to him are derived from the religious language of Syria-Palestine. Furthermore, Horus is referred to as having his temple in the land of Arash on the Babylonian-Elamite border. 3) The language of the prayer betrays a number of non-Aramaic features.

#### *The Name of the Deity and his Epithets*

The only Egyptian deity mentioned in the prayer and in what Nims and Steiner call the "Jewish passages" of the papyrus is Horus, a fact that led them to argue that the papyrus was composed at Edfu, south of Thebes.<sup>49</sup> This conclusion is important since Horus was worshipped at Edfu not only as a falcon, but also as the winged sun disc, a symbol widely used in Syria for various gods.<sup>50</sup> The use of the god determinative in the prayer links Hor with Baal Shamayn, Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens, and with the real or mythological mountain, Šafon, known from the Ugaritic texts as the stomping ground of Baal. Elsewhere in the papyrus, the equation between these two gods is explicit. Compare VII:3, *ybrkk bʿl mn špn*, 'May Baal bless you from Šafon',<sup>51</sup> with XII:15, *bʿlš mn špn hrš*

<sup>47</sup> Our understanding of these lines has evolved in response to a question posed by J. C. Greenfield in a personal communication of May 4, 1987: How did petitioners of Horus in Egypt understand that the Egyptian god to whom they were praying had a temple in a land so far off that he could not attend to matters at hand? Anticipating ideas developed in the following pages, we may say that initially Arash was identified mythopoeically with whatever was considered Šafon in the provinces of Samaria or Megiddo, and later, in Egypt, perhaps with a site in the north-east delta, the *bʿl špn* of Exod 14:2, 9. Thus, we are not sure that the god addressed was ever perceived as being very far away. However, even were Arash viewed as very distant, it need not have been an obstacle. In Jer 43, the prophet, whose god's temple site is in Jerusalem, receives a message while in Tahpanhes, Egypt that Nebuchadrezzar will be sent from Babylon to conquer Egypt. The crux of the matter depends on how the praying community interpreted the notion underlying the vocable *šir*.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Weinfeld's observation (p. 134) that the words *yhw hōšīcā* in Ps 20:10a do not have *hmlk* as their object helps to tie Ps 20:10b to l. 13 linguistically, but to l. 15 functionally as a coda.

<sup>49</sup> Nims, 271–72.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Y. Yadin, "Symbols of Deities of Zinjerli, Carthage, and Hazor," *Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck: Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. J. A. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), 199–231; S. Dalley, "The God Šalmu and the Winged Disk," *Iraq* 48 (1986): 86–88, 94, 99–101.

<sup>51</sup> Bowman, 227; Steiner, 112. We have semiticized the orthography.

## The Parallel Passages

## The Aramaic Text

- 1./2. y<sup>c</sup>nn Ḥr/ḏny bmswryn  
 4. šlh šyrk mn (ḏ)krḏrš  
 5. wmn špn Ḥr ys<sup>c</sup>dn  
 6./7. yntn ḏln Ḥr/mr kblbn  
  
 8. kl y<sup>c</sup>st yhmlḏ Ḥr  
 9. l' yḥsr ḏny kl mšḏl lbn  
  
 10. ḏl bqšt ḏl bhnt  
 11. ḏr ḏnhn mr ḏlhn Ḥr  
 13. y<sup>c</sup>nn mḥr ḏl bytḏl  
 14. b<sup>c</sup>l šmn mr ybrk  
  
 12. yhw ḏln ymn  
 15. lḥsydyk brktk

## Psalm 20

- 2a. y<sup>c</sup>nk YHWH bywm šrh  
 3a. yšlh <sup>c</sup>zrk mqdš  
 3b. wmn šywn ys<sup>c</sup>dk  
 5a. ytn lk klbbk  
  
 5b. kl <sup>c</sup>stk ymlḏ  
 6b. ymlḏ YHWH kl mšḏlwtyk  
  
 8a. ḏlh brkb wḏlh bswsym  
 8b. wḏnhnw bšm YHWH ḏlhynw nzkyr  
 10b. hmlk y<sup>c</sup>nnw bym qrḏnw  
 10a. Yhwh hwšy<sup>c</sup>h  
  
 I Ki 8:57a. yhy YHWH ḏlhynw <sup>c</sup>mnw  
 Ps 2:4. <sup>c</sup>l <sup>c</sup>mk brktk; Ps 148:14a. thlh lkl ḥsydyw

ybrk, 'Baal from Šafon, Hor, will bless'.<sup>52</sup> That north Syrian Baal and Šafon are intended is clear from the continuation of VII:3 that mentions *pdr[y]mn ḏrḏḥ*, who is most likely the same "Padriy from ḏr," known from Ugaritic texts as a goddess, *pdry bt ar*.<sup>53</sup> Al-

though at Ugarit she may have been the daughter of Baal, in VII:3 she appears as his consort.<sup>54</sup>

Also relevant to this discussion is the phrase *brktk lb<sup>c</sup>l špn wkl ḏl tḥpnhs*, 'I bless you by/to Baal Šafon and by/to all the gods of Tahpanhes', in the sixth century B.C.E. Phoenician papyrus from Saqqara (KAI 50:2–3). It indicates that Canaanite deities were worshipped in Egypt. The site mentioned in this letter is identical to the eastern delta side settled by sixth-century B.C.E. Judahite refugees (Jer 43:7–9, 44:1; 46:14; and Ezek 30:18) among whom Jeremiah preached (Jer 42) while groups of refugee women practiced forms of what he and the later editors of his book viewed as idolatry (Jer 44).

On the basis of this evidence, we suggest that the prayer was adopted for use in Egypt, at Edfu, by the mechanical substitution of the name of the main god

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Nims, 271, and Vleeming and Wesselius (1985), 72, whence the fuller text has been cited. The phrase occurs in the midst of some passages whose correct translation has yet to be determined. Note, that after column IV in the papyrus, the numbers of the Dutch scholars are one higher than those of the Americans who number two columns IVA and IVB.

<sup>53</sup> The *aleph* before the *reš* in *ar* is clearly indicated in Bowman's transliteration (p. 227). We have semiticized the orthography. Only the beginning and end of the name are clear. Although Bowman, 227, rendered it *ar.ah* and noted a word divider following the last consonant, he read it as *ar* and made the equation with the Ugaritic goddess; then, he connected the last two consonants of the name with a following *d/t*, ignoring the word divider, and rendered the result "this one."

In Steiner, 112, it is semiticized as *rph.h<sup>m</sup>* and the name translated as "Padri from Raphia." Steiner and Nims (p. 107) suggest that some of the toponyms in VII:3–6 are to be identified in north Sinai. But since they cannot explain all of the toponyms that way, whereas most can be identified with well known centers in Mesopotamia and north Syria, a

geographical continuum, we take all of them as referring to cities north of Palestine: ḏrš, Ashur, Babylon, Esanglila, Borsippa, Šafon, and ḏrḏḥ. Although they accept the possibility of the above mentioned reading, Vleeming and Wesselius (1985) prefer to read the name ḏršm<sup>c</sup>h<sup>m</sup>, but leave the site unidentified (p. 55).

<sup>54</sup> This conclusion is based on the pairing of *mr-mr(t)*, *b<sup>c</sup>l-pdry*, *bl-bl(t)* (cf. Steiner, 112; Vleeming and Wesselius [1985], 55, where this section of the papyrus is cited).

there, Hor, for a different name. Accordingly, the penultimate form of this prayer may be recovered simply by restoring the name "Baal," who is identified and equated with Hor elsewhere in the papyrus, wherever "Hor" occurs.

In the penultimate (Baal) text, the connection between Baal and Baal Shamayn is clear. This latter name is known to have been that of a god worshipped by the Phoenicians of Byblos in the tenth century B.C.E. (KAI 4:3). The same divinity is known from Aramaic inscriptions from the eighth century B.C.E. (KAI 202 A:3, 11), from the eighth-century B.C.E. Phoenician portal inscriptions at Karatepe, where he is equated in the Hittite text with the storm god Tarhui, the Neo-Hittite counterpart of Canaanite Baal and Aramaic Hadad (KAI 26:Aiii:18), from Esarhaddon's treaty with Tyre of the sixth century B.C.E., and is attested in Philistia from a letter from the end of the sixth century B.C.E. (KAI 266:2). In the penultimate text, Baal Shamayn is simply an alternative form of address and reference to Baal. The god name, Bow(man)-in-the-Heavens, may owe its origin to some west Semitic myth unknown to us or may be an Arashian epithet. It cannot, in this context, however, refer to another deity, just as Baal and Baal Shamayn cannot be two different deities since the 2 m.s. suffixes in ll. 4 and 15 render such an understanding grammatically impossible.<sup>55</sup> The use of these names, along with all the other epithets, suggests a Syro-Palestinian origin for the poem. This can be localized even further through consideration of three of the epithets used in the prayer:

1) Adonay, <sup>2</sup>*dny*, translated above as 'the master', occurs as a divine appellation in biblical narrative, Gen 20:4; Ex 4:10, 13; Ju 6:15; 13:8; in psalmody, Ps 38:16; 86:12; and in mantic texts, I Ki 22:6; 2 Ki 19:23; Ezek 18:25, 29; Am 7:7, 8; 9:1.<sup>56</sup> Since only Israelites used this vocable as a divine name, its use in the penultimate version suggests a north Israelite locale for the prayer.<sup>57</sup> Considered along with the striking parallels to Ps 20, this datum enables us to posit a Hebrew original for the antepenultimate version.

<sup>55</sup> This is also the reason why *zhr* in l. 3 cannot be a divine name.

<sup>56</sup> Its appearance in the Demotic papyrus should still once and for all the explanation that these forms are the result of massoretic tampering.

<sup>57</sup> This name stands in contrast to <sup>2</sup>*dn* which is attested sometimes as a divine title: KAI 12:3; 18:7; 94:1; 167:1 and often in Ugaritic.

2) The epithet *mr*, rendered 'the lord' in our translation, is a form of the common Aramaic *mr*<sup>2</sup>, the functional equivalent of Canaanite/Hebrew *b<sup>c</sup>l* and <sup>2</sup>*dn*. In the Aramaic prayer, it is either parallel to a divine name, ll. 6–7, or an appositive to one, ll. 11, 14. It is too well integrated into the synonymous parallelistic structure of the poem to assume that it translates an original <sup>2</sup>*dn* or some other name, and thus must be posited as being part of the original text. Note how the Baal (=Horus) // <sup>2</sup>*dny* parallelism in ll. 1–2 is replaced by the Baal (=Horus) // *mr* parallelism in ll. 6–7.

As an onomastic element, *mr* is attested in the Hebrew names *m<sup>c</sup>rib-ba<sup>c</sup>al* < *marī-ba<sup>c</sup>al* (1 Chr 8:34; 9:40 [= *m<sup>c</sup>pī-bōšet*, < *m<sup>c</sup>pī-ba<sup>c</sup>al* < *marī-ba<sup>c</sup>al* (?) 2 Sam 4:4; 9:6]),<sup>58</sup> cf. Adonibaal (KAI 63:2; 65:3); *m<sup>c</sup>rāyāh* < *mar(i)yāh* (Neh 12:12), cf. Adoniyah (2 Sam 3:4).<sup>59</sup> It is also attested epigraphically on Arad ostracon 50, *mrmt*, apparently the name of an eighth-seventh-century priest serving the local temple;<sup>60</sup> Samaria ostraca II:7, *mr<sup>c</sup>l*, and XLII:3, *mrnyw*.<sup>61</sup> Attestation of this element on the Arad ostracon and in the Yahwistic name borne by a pre-exilic Jerusalemite priest from the time of Jehoiakim, mentioned in the book of Nehemiah, points to its penetration into Judahite Hebrew by the mid-seventh century. The name of Saul's son in Chronicles, which preserves its

<sup>58</sup> The Chronicles passages preserve the original form of the name. The element *mry-* became *mpy-* owing to a scribal error in the Iron Age alphabet where the two graphemes are similar, while the change of *ba<sup>c</sup>al* to *bōšet* most likely reflects a form of partial scribal censorship in the text tradition underlying Samuel. Cf. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel* (Double-day: Garden City, 1984), 124–25, 128, and most other good commentaries to these passages.

<sup>59</sup> This etymology obviates the derivation from the Egyptian passive participle *mri* 'beloved of', proposed by P. Humbert, "Der Name Meriba<sup>c</sup>al," *ZAW* 38 (1919/20): 86. Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928), 143, n. 2. W. Spielberg already demonstrated that Humbert's suggestion was unlikely if not impossible on Egyptological grounds ("Zu dem Namen Meri-Baal," *ZAW* 38 [1919/20]: 172).

<sup>60</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 85. This name, connected with that of a post-exilic priestly family *m<sup>c</sup>rēmōt* (Neh 12:3), is derived from the epithet *mr* and the theophoric element *mw* (written defectively in Nehemiah).

<sup>61</sup> I thank Prof. Richard Steiner, who drew my attention to the Samarian ostraca.

original form, attests that by the tenth century, the epithet *mr* was used in Benjaminite territory, albeit with a *ba<sup>c</sup>al* theophoric element.<sup>62</sup> The second Samaria ostrakon (eighth century) cited above and the biblical data demonstrate that by the time of the ostrakon its use in the territories north of Jerusalem was no longer restricted to non-Yahwistic names (if it ever was). There is therefore no reason why the word could not have been used as an epithet in a Hebrew composition from the Iron Age II period on.

3) The epithet *ʾl byt ʾl*, translated ‘the numen of Bethel’ in l. 13 refers to Baal as the genius of the Israelite shrine Bethel, but it could also be taken as a title, ‘numen Bethel’. The same ambiguity is preserved in Gen 31:13, in which the genius of the site introduces himself to Jacob as either “I (am) the numen Bethel,” *ʾnky hʾl byt-ʾl*, or “I am the numen of Bethel,” or “I am the numen in Bethel,” as if *bbyl-ʾl* were written.<sup>63</sup> In the first case, Bethel is understood as a proper noun, in the others it is taken as a toponym but still part of the deity’s epithet.<sup>64</sup> The significance of this site and its name for the population that wrote the penultimate form of the prayer in the seventh century and for the population that adapted it later can be determined by considering the two ways in which “Bethel” is used in biblical and other ancient Near Eastern texts.

Its use as a place name when preceded by a generic term for god, as in our text, is supported by collocations such as *ʾel y<sup>e</sup>šūrūn*, Deut 33:12, which may be

compared with Deut 33:5, *wyhy byšrwn mlk*,<sup>65</sup> as well as *yhwš šmrn* and *yhwš tymn* in the inscriptions from Ajrud, if these have been understood correctly.<sup>66</sup> From the Persian period, *ʾlh ysrʾl* (Ezr 5:1; 6:14) and *ʾlh yršlm* (Ezr 7:19) may also be cited. The verses Gen 35:1–7 close this argument. In these *hʾl byt-ʾl* is referred to unambiguously as the *ʾl* who revealed himself at the shrine in Bethel.

Alongside these data, there is ample evidence that a god Bethel was known in Phoenicia, north Syria, and in the northern kingdom of Israel from the seventh century B.C.E., where he may have been perceived as a hypostatization of the shrine name. He was introduced into Egypt through the Persian period by exiles and refugees from these areas.<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jer 48:13, where Bethel is named as a north North Israelite deity comparable to Kemosh, the patron of Moab; the gods *ʾba-a-a-ti DINGIR.MEŠ* (Bethel), *ʾa-na(?)-ti-ba-[a]-[a-ti-DIN]GER.MEŠ* (Anathbethel) in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre, 675 B.C.E.,<sup>68</sup> as well as various Aramean and Jewish names of the Persian period in which Bethel is a theophoric element: Bethelnuri, Nabushille b. Bethelrei, Bethelnatan b. Jehonathan,<sup>69</sup> and the deities Anathbethel and Eshembethel at Elephantine.<sup>70</sup>

Amos 5:4b–5a, . . . *kh ʾmr YHWH . . . dršwny whyw wʾl tdršw byt ʾl whglgl lʾ tbʾw*, ‘. . . thus says YHWH . . . seek me and live, but don’t seek Bethel and

<sup>65</sup> Contrast Deut 32:15 and Isa 44:2 where the term seems to refer to the people.

<sup>66</sup> This is the position adopted by J. A. Emerton, “New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntilet ‘Ajrud,” *ZAW* 94 (1982): 3, 9–10, 19 and the bibliography cited there.

<sup>67</sup> K. A. D. Smelik, “Een Aramese Parallel voor Psalm 20,” *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 37 (1983): 95. Cf. also, A. Rofé, *The Belief in Angels in the Bible and Early Israel*, vol. II (Jerusalem: Makor, 1979), 219–32 [Hebrew]. Rofé also argues that the deity Bethel was identified with a stele in the shrine and with the deity called *ʾeben yišrāʾl* (Gen 49:24).

<sup>68</sup> Baal Shamayn and Baal Šafon also occur in the list of deities. The orthography of these names with the plural marker MEŠ may indicate that the underlying form is *bt/bty ʾlhym/n* or *ʾlhyʾ* (cf. Sefire II C 2, 7–10), and hence less central to this discussion.

<sup>69</sup> B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley: U. C. Press, 1968), 328–30, nn. 16, 21; see pp. 164–79 for additional details. M. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine* (= AOAT 217), (Neukirchen Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1985), 221–30.

<sup>70</sup> Porten, *ibid.*, 173–74.

<sup>62</sup> *mr* first appears as a quasi-theophoric element in the Persian period. Cf. the names gathered by J. Naveh, “Phlš in a Recently Found Aramaic Ostrakon,” *Leš* 37 (1972–73): 273–74 (cited in Steiner, 96). Naveh suggests that in the names which he collected, *mrʾ/mrʾn* is either the Aramaic epithet of an unnamed local deity or an Arabic epithet of an Arab deity (p. 274). This is precisely the situation that we posit for the Aramaic text in its extant form as well as for its penultimate and antepenultimate versions. On the basis of these data, we do not consider *mr* to be a divine name (cf. Vleeming and Wesselius [1985], 20). It is therefore not surprising that elsewhere in the papyrus the word turns up referring to an undoubtedly human master—in Nims and Steiner [1985], 75 in col. xx:2 and on p. 78 in xx:2—as we would reasonably expect in an Aramaic text (cf. Steiner, 114 ad p. 96 and Vleeming and Wesselius, 56).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Amos 7:13.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 46–47 and n. 14. In Hosea 12:5b, Bethel can only be the toponym since *šām* in v. 5c implies a place.

do not come to the Gilgal', establishes the eighth century B.C.E. as the time by which this Hebrew vocable resonated both semantic nuances possibly reflected in the prayer composed during the following century. In the Amos passage, on the one hand, Bethel is structurally parallel to the l s.g. suffix referring to YHWH mentioned in v. 4a and on the other, it is also parallel to Gilgal, a toponym mentioned in v. 5a. This poetic line could have been written only when the name Bethel had two distinct yet complementary referents since it exploits the potential ambiguity of the name.

Within the context of the penultimate form of the prayer, and particularly owing to the use of <sup>2</sup>*dny*, the connection of <sup>2</sup>*l byt 2*l with the site of Bethel seems likely; however, consideration of the historical background of the community that composed the prayer indicates that in addition to its denotation, the word may have also connoted the divine name. As mentioned previously, the Arashians were most likely among the Elamites and other Babylonian and Aramean foreigners who were settled in Samaria by Assurbanipal. Thus, they were among the direct and indirect beneficiaries of tutelage by the priest who returned from this place of exile in Assyria and settled at the Bethel shrine where he taught these foreigners the manner of revering the local god, YHWH (2 Ki 17:24–28, 41). The importance of the deity Bethel may have been heightened among Arameans who worshipped this deity in their native lands because of the close link between YHWH-worship and Bethel, both place and deity, that they encountered in their place of exile.<sup>71</sup> From the Arameans, through the north Israelite priest at Bethel, and perhaps through the practices of natives left in the land here and there by the Assyrian conquerors, knowledge of this worship spread among the other communities exiled to the former kingdom of Israel.

### *The Language of the Prayer*

The non-Aramaic words in the Aramaic text also point towards the same general geographic location as the place of composition but do not constitute evidence for Hebrew as the language of the antepenultimate version. The words in question are *mšwryn*, with a *š* and not an *ç* as would be expected were it derived from a posited Aramaic etymon *\*qwr < \*qrr*,<sup>72</sup> *yçst* with a *š* and not a *t* as would be expected were it

derived from a posited Aramaic etymon *\*yçz*,<sup>73</sup> and the word <sup>2</sup>*dn*. In his discussion of the structure and language of the eighth-century B.C.E. Aramaic inscription of Zakur, king of Hamath (KAI 202), J. C. Greenfield points out that although the genre of the inscription is that of Thanksgiving Psalms known from the Hebrew Bible, the language is certainly Aramaic. Various "Hebraisms" identified in the vocabulary and idioms of the inscription are explained by Greenfield not strictly as borrowings but as owing to the general influence of Canaanite dialects on the Aramaic of Hamath.<sup>74</sup> This explanation, which draws on the model of languages in contact, is equally valid for the Aramaic of the penultimate prayer.<sup>75</sup>

There are, however, two significant differences between the case of the Zakur inscription and the Prayer to Horus. 1) Whereas the Zakur inscription is marked as Aramaic by virtue of its phonology, morphology, and lexicon, the prayer to Horus is not. The only Aramaic markers in the prayer are the morphology of the masculine plural noun with *-n* (*šmyn*), and the verbs *yhml*<sup>2</sup> and *yntn*. The words <sup>2</sup>*r*, *mr*, and perhaps <sup>2</sup>*gr* can be taken as Aramaic lexemes, but the meaning of all other words in the text is identical to that of their Hebrew cognates.<sup>76</sup> The prayer appears to be a Hebrew or Canaanite text which has been superficially Aramaicised. 2) Unlike the Zakur inscription, whose Hebrew-Canaanite idioms could be illustrated by Greenfield only by referring to parallels in many different sources, the prayer has 80% of its parallels in a single text, Psalm 20. On the strength of these parallels, the antepenultimate form of the prayer can only have been a north Israelite composition written in Hebrew. Originally, *yhml*<sup>2</sup> was written *yml*<sup>2</sup> and *yntn* was written *ytn*. The name of the deity addressed

<sup>73</sup> Nims, 267, 270; Vleeming and Wesseliuss, 507. The Dutch scholars report that all other occurrences of this word in the papyrus evidence the regular Aramaic form and thus emphasize that the linguistic history of this section is different from that of the others.

<sup>74</sup> J. C. Greenfield, "The Zakir Inscription and the Danklied," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. I (Jerusalem, 1969), 175–78. Cf. U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).

<sup>75</sup> Cf. K. A. D. Smelik, "The Origin of Psalm 20," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 77.

<sup>76</sup> Although *mr* may have been recognizably Aramaic, the onomastic evidence adduced above demonstrates that it had been naturalized in the religious vocabulary of Israel as a proper epithet of the national deity.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 171–72.

<sup>72</sup> Nims, 265, 270.



in this text may have been either Baal or YHWH. Where the Arashian version has *mn ʔgr ʔrš*, the north Israelite one may have had *mn hr/hykl/byt qdš(k)*, 'from (your) holy mountain/temple-palace/house', or the like. The otherwise distinctive Aramaic word *mr* could have been used as already discussed. Aramaic ʔr is the equivalent of Hebrew *hinnēh*.

The social, religious, and political circumstances of the various exiled communities in the melting pot of the Assyrian provinces of either Samaria or Megiddo provide the background for the composition of the penultimate form of the text. Around the year 650 B.C.E., Arashian exiles composed a prayer to their native god whose temple was in Arash (l. 4) and to whom they may have referred with an "old country" epithet (l. 3), but they addressed him according to the literary conventions, with the religious language, and in the idiom of their land of exile.

#### THE ORIGINAL CONNECTION BETWEEN PS 20 AND THE PRAYER

The original connection between Ps 20 and this hypothetical north Israelite composition can only be clarified after a consideration of the prehistory of the former. Ps 20, in its extant form contains three speaking voices: 1 pl. in vv. 6a, 8–10; 1 sg. in v. 7 (note that both parts of the verse refer to the anointed in the 3rd person); a non-descript voice, sg. or pl. in vv. 2–5, 6b that addresses the anointed one, presumably the king, directly.<sup>77</sup> Weinfeld points to a lack of harmony between these voices. 1) There are jerky and unclear transitions between vv. 5, 6a, 6b, 7 and 8. 2) In contrast to 20:3 which anticipates help from the sanctuary in Zion, the help is promised "from his sacred heavens" in 20:7b. 3) There is a preference for using *šēm* as an hypostasis for divine names: vv. 2b, 6a, 8b but not in 2a, 6b, 7a. Weinfeld attributes this to a Deuteronomy influenced redaction of the poem by someone who believed the YHWH dwelt in the heavens (v. 7b) but caused his name to be on earth.<sup>78</sup> The penultimate form of Ps 20, its pre-Deuteronomiac

version, can be reclaimed, then, by striking the word *šēm* from vv. 2b, 6a, 8b. (We retain *šēmēy* in v. 7b because in the north Israelite prayer it corresponds to *b'l šmyn*.) If we assume that the antepenultimate form of Ps 20 was completely community oriented and did not have the confusing switches in voice and object caused by the extant v. 7, then an additional earlier stage in its development may be posited which we call the Jerusalem communal-psalm version.

Positing this stage involves what may be challenged as circular reasoning because it is an attempt to make a bridge between the objectively recoverable pre-Deuteronomiac stage of the psalm and the posited north Israelite form of the prayer, on the assumption that the two are related. The evidence in support of this is the 1 pl. speaking voice in Ps 20:6, 8–10 and throughout the north Israelite prayer.<sup>79</sup>

The texts of the Jerusalem communal psalm and of the north Israelite prayer enjoy a complementary relationship. The north Israelite prayer contains a series of requests in 1 pl. that are yet to be fulfilled, lines 1–2, 4–9, 13–15, while the communal psalm (= Ps 20:2–5) is cast in the form of a positive oracular response to specific requests for help that are never mentioned. These verses also note that the deity will recall all the *mnht* and the *ʿwlh* sacrifices that were made, presumably in conjunction with the formal enunciation of the requests. The communal psalm (= Ps 20:6a, 9–10) continues with a joyful response in 1 pl. to these tidings. The many common expressions in these compositions, listed above, suggest that both are talking about the same thing. The shared collocations are all the more outstanding since Ps 20 is isolated among the psalms vis-à-vis its phraseology. Although it contains lexical items that occur elsewhere in the psalter, none of its larger phrases are attested in other psalms.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Actually, at least two stages of literary development must have taken place between the reconstructed, original liturgy, to be described below, and the pre-Deuteronomiac version of the psalm: 1) a version based on an excerpted section of the liturgy and 2) a version in which v. 7 in its present form was worked into the text as it was revised for use in a new liturgical setting. Cf. the extensive review of the literature in Loretz, *Königpsalmen*, 31–43, about issues not pursued in our present study, which is not concerned with the exegesis of the psalm's extant form: the individual versus the communal interpretations, its *Gattung*, or its *Sitz-im-Leben*.

<sup>80</sup> R. C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), doesn't list a single phrase in Ps 20 as formulaic, cf. p. 103. For individual lexemes, see Weinfeld, 131–34.

<sup>77</sup> Other arrangements are possible. Cf. C. A. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms I* (ICC) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), ad loc.; K. R. Crim, *The Royal Psalms* (Richmond: John Knox, 1962), 12–18; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen* (BKAT), (Neukirchen Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1961), 162–64; and most recently, E. S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part I, with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 103–5.

<sup>78</sup> Weinfeld, 133 and n. 47, with bibliography.

Also significant is the fact that the psalm and the prayer focus on relying on the deity and not on professional soldiery. This theme was first iterated in Israel by the mid-eighth-century B.C.E. north Israelite prophet Hosea: "Because you trusted in your chariots [translating with the LXX], in the multitude of your warriors, the cacophony of war rises in your people, and all your fortresses will be destroyed like the destruction Shalman (visited on) Betharbel. . . . So will it be done to you Bethel, because of the evil of your evilness. At dawn, the king of Israel will be completely silenced" (Hos 10:13b–15). Hosea, the only northern prophet whose "writings" became part of the Jerusalem-determined prophetic canon, is generally considered to be a forerunner of a number of Deuteronomic teachings that were later accepted in the southern kingdom.

The two compositions may therefore be considered stemmatically linked on thematic, linguistic, and poetic grounds, a linkage which justifies using each cautiously as a control for the other. Consideration of the

status of the request and its fulfillment in both compositions suggests that the north Israelite prayer and Jerusalem psalm were originally two parts of a single cultic liturgy, which we label the north Israelite liturgy or the Jerusalem liturgy, and that between the recitation of each part, certain sacrifices were made (Ps 20:4). If either the 2 m.s. suffixes in those verses of Ps 20 that comprised the communal psalm are changed to 2 m.pl. or if the 1 pl. forms in the north Israelite prayer are changed to 1 sg. the complementary nature of the two becomes obvious. The differences between the two extant compositions are the result of independent liturgical developments after sections were split off from the posited original.

The following reconstruction of this posited original liturgy is based on the recovered north Israelite prayer and on the Jerusalem communal-psalm versions of the two texts. It presupposes a group of petitioners and that YHWH, as opposed to some other deity or group of deities, is being petitioned. The extant text of Ps 20 has been adjusted to reflect these assumptions.

y <sup>c</sup> nnw YHWH bṁšwryn <sup>81</sup>	May Y. answer us in our straits
y <sup>c</sup> nnw ʔdny bṁšwryn	May the lord answer us in our straits
hy qšt bšmym zhr	O bowman in the heavens shine forth
šlh šyrk mn hr qdšk <sup>82</sup>	Send your messenger from your holy mountain
wmn špn YHWH ys <sup>c</sup> dny	And from Safon may Y. sustain us.
ytn ʔln YHWH kblbnw	May Y. grant to us as is in our heart
ytn ʔln mr kblbnw	May the master grant to us as is in our heart
kl y <sup>c</sup> št yml <sup>ʔ</sup> YHWH	All suggestions may Y. fulfill
l <sup>ʔ</sup> yḥsr ʔdny kl mš <sup>ʔ</sup> l <sup>83</sup> lbnw	May the lord not diminish any request of our heart
ʔlh bqšt w <sup>ʔ</sup> lh bḥnyt	Some by the bow and some by the spear
whnh <sup>84</sup> ʔnḥnw, mr ʔlhnw YHWH	But, lo! (As for) us, the master our god is Y.
yhy ʔlnw ʕmnw	May our numen be with us.
y <sup>c</sup> nnw mḥr ʔl byt <sup>ʔ</sup> l	May the numen (of) Bethel answer us anon
b <sup>c</sup> l šmym mr ybrk	Padrone of the heavens, the master, may he bless
lḥsydyk brtk	For your pious ones are your blessings.

(Sacrifices are offered on behalf of the petitioners by officiating priests and priest-prophets; a response is given to the petitioners.)

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *mšwr(y)k* in Ezek 4:8. Final vowel letters have been added to facilitate the reading and to make the orthography of both parts of the text identical.

<sup>82</sup> A proposed north Israelite equivalent for the Arashian *ʔkrʔrš*.

<sup>83</sup> As noted by Weinfeld (p. 133) the Hebrew singular is *mšʔl*, cf. Josh 19:26. Cf. A. Ehrlich, *Die Psalmen* (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1905), 41.

<sup>84</sup> Hebrew *whnh* for Aramaic *ʔrw*, 'lo!' or 'behold'.

y <sup>c</sup> nmk YHWH bywm šrh yšgbkm ʔlhy y <sup>c</sup> qb yšlh ʔzrk <sup>87</sup> mqdš <sup>88</sup> wmšpwn <sup>89</sup> ys <sup>c</sup> dkm	Y. answers <sup>85</sup> you on the day <sup>86</sup> of trouble. The god of Jacob keep you safe. He sends you help from the sanctuary And from Safon he will sustain you.
yzkr kl mnhtkm w <sup>c</sup> ltkm ydšnh ytn lkm YHWH <sup>91</sup> k{bʔ}lb{b}km <sup>92</sup> wkl <y> <sup>c</sup> štkm <sup>93</sup> yml <sup>ʔ</sup> yml <sup>ʔ</sup> YHWH kl mš <sup>ʔ</sup> lwtykm <sup>94</sup>	He notes all of your gift (offering)s And your burnt offering he ——— <sup>90</sup> Y. will give to you as is in your heart and all your suggestions will he fulfill. Y. will fulfill all your requests.
nrrnh byšw <sup>c</sup> tk wb <sup>ʔ</sup> lhynw ndgl ʔth yd <sup>c</sup> nw ky hwšy <sup>c</sup> YHWH <sup>96</sup>	We rejoice in your saving act and in our god we ——— <sup>95</sup> Now we know that Y. saved.
ʔlh brkb w <sup>ʔ</sup> lh bswsym w <sup>ʔ</sup> nḥnw BYHWH ʔlhynw nzkyr <sup>97</sup> y <sup>c</sup> nnw <sup>99</sup> mšmy qdšw bgbrwt yš <sup>c</sup> ymynw hmh kr <sup>c</sup> w wnplw <sup>100</sup> w <sup>ʔ</sup> nḥnw qmnw wnt <sup>c</sup> wdd YHWH hwšy <sup>c</sup> h hmlk y <sup>c</sup> nnw bywm qr <sup>ʔ</sup> nw	Some . . . chariotry and some . . . horses but we invoke Y. our god (in prayer). <sup>98</sup> He answers us from his holy heavens with great saving acts of his right hand. They <sup>101</sup> kneeled and fell but we rose and declare this message. <sup>102</sup> Y. save! The king answers us on (the very) day we call out.

<sup>85</sup> We translate the *yql* forms here as a present tense though future is also a possibility. Cf. Z. Zevit, "Talking Funny in Biblical Henglish and Solving a Problem of the *yaqtul* Past Tense," *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988): 25-32. The context leads us to conclude that these lines, after the sacrifice, are the response of priest-prophets.

<sup>86</sup> The request was that he answer "anon."

<sup>87</sup> Weinfeld claims that *šlh šyr* is regular in Biblical Hebrew and that *šlh ʔzr* may be part of the Deuteronomic redaction (p. 138, n. 30). But since there are only two examples of the collocation, this suggestion remains only a slight possibility.

<sup>88</sup> An ambitious emendation may be considered: *m<hr>qdš<w>*.

<sup>89</sup> The place name *šywn* would hardly be expected in a north Israelite poem, so the presence of this vocable in Ps 20:3 is due to the appropriation of the prayer for the sanctuary on Mt. Zion. *špwn*, would be acceptable in Jerusalem hymnology because local mythos identified it with Zion, cf. Ps 48:3. However, by the end of the seventh century B.C.E., *špwn* became identified as the northern place from which evil would come in the pronouncements of two priest-prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, indicating that the harmonizing notion behind Ps 48:3 no longer sat well in Jerusalem.

<sup>90</sup> The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain. Cf. commentaries *ad loc.*

<sup>91</sup> YHWH restored in Ps 20:5a on the basis of the LXX and Syr.

<sup>92</sup> The difference between *lb* and *lbb* may be dialectal.

<sup>93</sup> The difference between \*y<sup>a</sup>cīšā/y<sup>c</sup>št and ʔšā/ʔšōt may be dialectal. The original would have been written in a single dialect.

<sup>94</sup> Ps 20:6b is transposed before v. 6a.

<sup>95</sup> The meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain. See the commentaries *ad loc.*

<sup>96</sup> Ps 20:7aa is difficult to accommodate without the drastic emendation that we have imposed on it. Perhaps it should be omitted in this reconstruction as part of the Jerusalemite adaption of the prayer?

<sup>97</sup> Ps 20:8 is transposed before v. 7b.

<sup>98</sup> In hymnic contexts, *zkr* implies praising aloud, citing as praiseworthy, cf. Exod 23:13, Ps 20:8; 45:18, and the nouns in Ps 30:5; 87:12; 111:4; 135:13. The Aramaic text obviously lacks a corresponding verb at this point in the equivalent phrase unless one that governs the prepositions *bqšt* . . . *bḥnt* is to be assumed.

<sup>99</sup> Ps 20:7aa is emended to conform with the pattern. Perhaps it should be omitted. Cf. n. 96 above.

<sup>100</sup> This collocation occurs twice in the Song of Deborah, Ju 5:27, where it powerfully describes the ignoble demise of Sisera.

<sup>101</sup> Presumably, this refers to those who put their trust in bows, spears, chariots and horses, whoever they were.

<sup>102</sup> J. F. Ross has gathered and presented the data from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ugaritic demonstrating that \**ʕdd* is

There is a limit beyond which reconstructions cannot press, and the stage represented by the above text is the oldest that the available evidence will allow. We do not claim that our particular reconstructed version of a common north Israelite-Jerusalem liturgy ever existed—only that something like it did exist. Our reconstruction is intended to be a heuristic model that clarifies a number of obviously related features in two apparently unrelated texts by showing that at an early stage in their development the two were one. In reality, however, the north Israelite liturgy and the Jerusalem liturgy were most likely only very similar,

associated semantically with messages and messengers. What is particularly interesting and relevant is that in the bulk of his examples from Hebrew and in the Zakur inscription, this root is connected with prophetic speeches or persons ("Prophecy in Hamath, Israel, and Mari," *HTR* 63 [1970]: 4–8). The *hitpolel* form of the verb indicates intensive, reflexive activity: "we recite to each other continuously." The more traditional translation of *nt<sup>c</sup>dd*, 'we stand erect', is, however, not totally excluded.

allotropic variants determined by local religious customs and sensibilities.

This mitigating conclusion is bolstered by observing that the join between the prayer and the psalm is good but not perfect. A case in point is the large number of epithets used for the deity in addition to the divine name. In the first liturgy there are five: *ḏny*, *mr*, *ḏhnw*, *ḏl*, *ḏl byt<sup>c</sup>l*, *b<sup>c</sup>l šmym*; in the second part three: *ḏhy y<sup>c</sup>qb*, *ḏhynw*, *hmlk*. Now although a case may be made that *ḏhy y<sup>c</sup>qb* is the equivalent of *ḏl byt<sup>c</sup>l* and that *hmlk* answers to *b<sup>c</sup>l šmym*, it is clear that there is an imbalance between the two halves with respect to the choice and placement of names. The absence of something answering to *ḏny* and *mr* in the second half implies that the reconstructed liturgy is not the beginning of the logical line of posited predecessors, only the end of the evidence at hand. Logic compels us to posit an even earlier form of the liturgy, possibly Canaanite, and hints that underlying some of the uses of YHWH in the second half of the liturgy other epithets may have been used. Lack of evidence compels us to forego undertaking such a reconstruction.